

Message Text

PAGE 01 NATO 02695 142027Z

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W

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FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1825

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EYES ONLY FOR COUNSELOR SONNENFELDT FROM AMBASSADOR BRUCE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, SU

SUBJECT: SUGGESTED TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION AT SHAPEX

1. AS REQUESTED IN CONNECTION WITH YOUR PARTICIPATION MAY 16 IN SHAPEX, WE LIST BELOW SOME ISSUES YOU MAY WANT TO COVER IN YOUR REMARKS.

2. PARTICIPANTS IN SHAPEX, RECOGNIZING YOUR LONG EXPERIENCE IN EAST-WEST REALATIONS AND HAVING FOLLOWED YOUR FREQUENT STATEMENTS IN THE NAC AND SOME PERHAPS HAVING PARTICIPATED IN MEETINGS WITH YOU IN ALLIED CAPITALS, WILL LOOK TO YOU ABOVE ALL FOR AN AUTHORITATIVE OVERVIEW ON PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS IN U.S. AND ALLIED RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS AND THEIR PARTNERS. THE OUTLOOK FOR EAST-WEST RELATIONS IN THE WAKE OF INDOCHINA AND CSCE WOULD BE OF PARTICULAR INTEREST, AS WOULD CURRENT THINKING ABOUT THE SOVIET ROLE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. SECRETARY'S MAY 12 SPEECH IN ST. LOUIS, MOREOVER, WILL HAVE BEEN READ BY MOST PRESENT, AND WILL THUS SET THE STAGE FOR YOUR SHAPEX PRESENTATION.

3. YOUR REMARKS WILL FOLLOW A PRESENTATION BY PROFESSOR ALEC NOVE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW, WHO WILL DISCUSS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF THE WARSAW PACT, WHICH WE UNDERSTAND IS PRINCIPAL THEME OF THIRD AND FINAL DAY AT SHAPEX. FIRST TWO DAYS WILL HAVE BEEN DEVOTED TO DISCUSSION OF THE WESTERN ECONOMIC
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PAGE 02 NATO 02695 142027Z

SITUATION AND TO NATO OPERATIONAL FLEXIBILITY. GIVEN MAY 16 STRESS ON ECONOMICS, YOU MAY WANT TO LEAD WITH COMMENTS ON:

-- THE COMMONLY HELD VIEW THAT THE WARSAW PACT IS BETTER INSULATED THAN NATO FROM INFLATION/RECESSION/ENERGY PROBLEMS

AND CAN SPEND PROPORTIONATELY MORE THAN THE WEST FOR DEFENSE

- POSSIBLE DIFFERENCES IN THE ECONOMIC OUTLOOK FOR THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHER EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES
- THE IMPACT EAST-WEST RELATIONS MAY HAVE ON SPECIFIC SOVIET DEFENSE PROGRAMS AND ON DETENTE. FOR EXAMPLE,
 - WILL THE SOVIETS BE TOUGHER IN THE SALT NEGOTIATIONS GIVEN CONGRESSIONAL PRESSURE FOR DEFENSE BUDGET CUTS AFFECTING THE TRIDENT AND B-1 PROGRAMS?
 - WHAT ARE THE PROSPECTS FOR SUCCESSFUL MBFR NEGOTIATIONS?

4. IN THE LIGHT OF THE FOREGOING, YOU MIGHT ALSO WISH TO ADDRESS:

- THE NEED FOR NATO TO MAINTAIN AND IMPROVE DEFENSE SPENDING LEVELS AND COOPERATIVE PROGRAMS AND WHETHER WE SHOULD:
 - BE TOUGHER ABOUT INTEREST RATES ON LOANS TO WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES;
 - BE MORE CAREFUL ABOUT PROVIDING ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY AND EQUIPMENT TO THE WARSAW PACT; AND
 - ATTEMPT TO LIMIT WESTERN DEPENDENCE ON SOVIET ENERGY RESOURCES AND RAW MATERIALS.

5. WE BELIEVE SHAPEX AUDIENCE WILL APPRECIATE YOUR ASSESSMENT OF WARSAW PACT ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT NATO INTENTIONS AND CAPABILITIES, AND WP MILITARY DOCTRINE BASED ON THOSE ASSUMPTIONS. YOUR VIEWS WOULD ALSO BE WELCOME ON:

- SOVIET INTERNAL POLITICS AND PROSPECTS IN THE POST-BREZHNEV ERA.
- THE CURRENT AND PROSPECTIVE DEGREE OF VOLATILITY/SUBMISSIVENESS IN EASTERN EUROPE.
- YUGOSLAVIA AND WHAT/WHO COMES AFTER TITO.
- NATO'S WEAKNESS ON THE SOUTHERN FLANK INCLUDING THE SOVIET MEDITERRANEAN PRESENCE.
- IBERIA: PORTUGAL, THE SPANISH SUCCESSION, AND SPAIN-NATO (THIS WOULD HAVE TO BE VERY CAREFULLY TAILORED SINCE GENERAL FABIAO, THE PORTUGUESE ARMY'S CHIEF OF STAFF, SECRET

PAGE 03 NATO 02695 142027Z

IS ATTENDING SHAPEX).

- ASIAN PROSPECTS AFTER THE INDOCHINA SETBACK.

6. IN THE AREA OF MORE GENERAL COMMENTS, SHAPEX PARTICIPANTS WILL EXPECT FROM YOU WORDS OF REASSURANCE ABOUT THE CONTINUING U.S. COMMITMENT TO ATLANTIC DEFENSE AND TO A MAJOR WORLD ROLE IN SOLIDARITY WITH ITS ALLIES, A POINT WE UNDERSTAND IF YOU HAVE NOT YET HAD A CHANCE TO DO SO, YOU MAY WISH TO READ USNATO 2668 REPORTING THE IS SUMMARY OF THE RECENT APAG MEETING WHICH FOCUSED ON EAST-WEST ECONOMIC ISSUES. WIN LORD'S PAPER PREPARED FOR APAG MAY ALSO BE USEFUL.

8. YOU MAY ALSO WISH TO SHOW THIS TO ART HARTMAN FOR ANY

SUGGESTIONS HE MIGHT WISH TO MAKE.BRUCE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 18 AUG 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 14 MAY 1975
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975NATO02695
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 XGDS-1
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: NATO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 2
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750599/abbrzjzo.tel
Line Count: 112
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: n/a
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 29 APR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <29 APR 2003 by SmithRJ>; APPROVED <30 APR 2003 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: LOCK1
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SUGGESTED TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION AT SHAPEX
TAGS: PFOR, NATO, SU
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006